

PEACE NEWS

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FOURPENCE

British napalm test in Germany?

AN unconfirmed report from Berlin states that napalm (petrol jelly) bombs were dropped near Celle, W. Germany, by a British jet plane, presumably in an experimental sense.

The dropping of four napalm bombs is alleged to have taken place in the presence of the British Minister of Supply, Mr. Duncan Sandys, on August 5.

Peace News understands that the Minister was in Germany for the Rhine Exercises in which important units of the BAOR and Territorials from England took part. Asked by Peace News whether they could confirm the use of napalm by British forces during the Rhine Exercise, the War Office said: "We know of no napalm bombs dropped in Germany."

When protests were made in the House of Commons on May 14 regarding the use of napalm bombs in Korea the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Defence, Mr. Nigel Birch, said: "As the House is aware, the napalm bomb has not been used by United Kingdom Forces in Korea."

New Quaker poster puts it bluntly

"The waging of war is as wrong for Christian people as is trafficking in slaves," says the latest poster issued by the Northern Friends' Peace Board. Copies may be obtained from the Board at Friends' Meeting House, Clifford Street, York, Gd., post free.

MICHAEL SCOTT

writes to

DR. MALAN

The following correspondence between the Rev. Michael Scott and Dr. Malan has been passed to Peace News for publication.

July 23, 1952.

Dear Dr. Malan,

I am writing to inform you that there are many Christian people in Britain who would like to have an opportunity of meeting Chief Hoesa Kutako of South West Africa. He has been invited to give an address in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, by the Dean and Chapter through the Chancellor, Canon Collins, who is Chairman of an organisation known as Christian Action. There have

also been invitations to him and his interpreter by the Bishop of Chichester, the Dean of Manchester, and the Missionary Council of the Diocese of Norwich. These invitations are not inspired by politics but by a desire to hear the views of this African on the coming of Christianity to Africa and its future tasks, and I do hope, therefore, that it will be possible for him to obtain passport and other travelling facilities to enable him to accept these invitations.

May I also ask whether it would now be possible for the prohibition order on my returning to South Africa to be rescinded. I have addressed this letter to you as a Christian Minister as well as the Prime Minister of the country, and I do hope and pray you will give the matter your deepest consideration.

Yours sincerely,
(Rev.) MICHAEL SCOTT.

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August 7, 1952.

Reverend Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 23rd July, I am directed by Dr. Malan to inform you that the Government unfortunately is unable to accede to your request to allow Chief Hoesa Kutako to visit Britain for the purpose stated, nor can it at this juncture rescind the prohibition on your return to the Union.

Yours faithfully,
M. AUCAMP,
Private Secretary.

S. African news in brief

Indian women took part for the first time in the passive resistance campaign on August 26. They were arrested at Germiston, near Johannesburg for entering the location without permits. One of the women was Mrs. Cachalia, wife of the Secretary of the Joint Action Committee of the S. African Indian Congress, reports India News.

The Government of India are to bring the campaign in Africa to the notice of the UN General Assembly. Such action is likely to have the support of the Arab bloc.

"The Indonesian Government fully supports India's move to submit the South Africa apartheid issue to the United Nations," said the Indonesian Information Minister, Mr. Arnold Mononutu, last week.

The first volunteers in the Natal campaign against the race laws will be led by Dr. G. M. Naicker, president of the Natal Indian Congress, and P. H. Simelane, the assistant secretary of the African National Congress in Natal.

Take negotiations out of the hands of the Generals

TRYGVE LIE AND KOREAN TRUCE

Is he preparing way for discussion at UN?

THERE seems to be a large probability that what is happening today in Korea will occupy the meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations next month.

At the last meeting of the Assembly there was no such discussion. On the pressure of America and the Western powers it was accepted that to debate the issues in the Assembly would prejudice the negotiations that were being conducted by the generals.

That clearly cannot be maintained in the present situation and Mr. Trygve Lie in his annual report seems to be preparing the way for a discussion.

He comments that a truce based on approximately the present battle line would be welcomed by public opinion in the great majority of member states. He thinks

that, given such an agreement, much of the present anxiety and disillusionment would disappear and that public confidence in the United Nations as an instrument of collective security would be strengthened.

He remarks that the opening of truce negotiations aroused great hopes throughout the world of a speedy end to the fighting. Repeated disappointments were giving rise to impatience, resentment and doubt.

The burdens and anxieties inherent in collective measures so closely related to the East-West conflict and so costly in lives and material have weighed heavily on public opinion during the fluctuations of the Panmunjom talks.

Boyd Orr's "End the deadlock" appeal

A strong plea that the matter shall be dealt with on a political basis and taken out of the hands of the generals is made in a letter to The Times on August 29 signed by Lord Boyd-Orr, Lord Stansgate, Reginald Sorensen, MP, and others.

General Harrison has recently expressed his belief that a truce is "farther away than at any time in the last 12 months." At the same time, the bombing operations over North Korea have been extended and intensified.

In this situation it is not surprising to find both sides presenting a stubborn front. Great Powers do not completely abandon positions of principle on which they have publicly taken their stand. But without some further compromise there is no prospect of peace in Korea. We are encouraged to hope for a compromise by the previous history of the truce negotiations, which did indeed produce compromise solutions on highly important items of the agenda.

The fact remains, however, that the truce talks cannot be treated as a "technical" problem, isolated from political considerations. Neutral diplomats in close touch with Peking agree that political problems completely overshadow the immediate difficulties at Panmunjom. We therefore suggest that another attempt be made to improve the political atmosphere in the Far East.

The British Government would do well, we believe, to make clear that they have not changed their Far Eastern policy and they should reaffirm the British view that the Peking Government should take its proper place on the Security Council of the United Nations and that Formosa should be returned to China as part of a general Pacific settlement. In this connection we warmly support the lead recently given by Mr. Herbert Morrison in his speech at Stockholm.

We are convinced that an affirmation of good faith by Britain would be an important step towards creating the atmosphere in which a solution of the problem of prisoner repatriation can be achieved. Some grounds for this belief can be found in the Chinese offer in early April to accept the return of only 116,000 prisoners out of a reported total of 132,000. In this offer the Chinese Government implicitly accepted the principle that some prisoners might not return.

If we merely resign ourselves to a hopeless deadlock, as General Harrison seems to do, and to a continued hot war in Korea, we may miss the chance of peace in the Far East.

Immediate armistice

A resolution passed by an international Conference called by the International Liaison Committee of Peace Organisations at Haywards Heath last weekend calls for "an immediate armistice in Korea on the terms already agreed, leaving the question of the future of prisoners of war for consideration as one of the problems to be discussed with other terms of a political settlement."

The U.S. and the U.N. staff

APPOINTMENTS SUBJECT TO SCREENING

THE New Statesman for August 30 published an article dealing with the case of Mr. Hugh Lukin Robinson, a young Canadian whose services were dispensed with by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and who as a result was awarded compensation, arrears of salary and legal costs by an international Court of Appeal.

In the course of the article some alarming facts were given about other dismissals that have taken place. These facts have such a vital bearing on the attitude of the U.S. Government to the conduct of UN affairs that we reproduce part of the article below:

"The dismissals proceed. Since April, twenty-five of the staff have been 'separated.' Appeals are likely to be made by about ten; the rest have officially 'resigned,' with compensation and the promise that no obstacles will be placed in their way in finding other jobs. All are American, and most of the dismissals have been due to the intervention of the FBI.

U.S. approval necessary

"Nowadays all appointments of U.S. nationals must have U.S. government approval and be subject to 'screening' (in spite of the specific provision that members of the UN staff shall be entitled to hold any political beliefs) and if the American authorities disapprove of any existing American members of the staff, Mr. Trygve Lie will exercise his summary powers.

"Two-thirds of the staff are American citizens and are thus subject to such U.S. security measures; but the 'screenings' are not necessarily confined to U.S. nationals; Mr. Byron Price, the American Assistant Director-General in charge of UN administration, can get the necessary guidance as to the 'suitability' even of the non-American members of the staff.

Pressure to violate UN oath

"But that is not all. American nationals on the United Nations staff have been subpoenaed by the McCarran Committee on Un-American Activities and by the Grand Jury of New York State investigating subversive activities. They have been examined as to their own associations and loyalty to the American Republic and they have been interrogated under oath and threat of perjury proceedings as to internal UN matters, including the authorship of anonymous UN reports of which certain Americans disapprove.

"This, in spite of the UN oath: I solemnly undertake to exercise all the functions entrusted to me as a member of the staff of the organisation, to discharge these functions and regulate my conduct with its interests alone in view and not to seek or accept from any government or other authority external to the organisation any instructions in regard to my official duties."

"Non-American members of the UN staff have even been scurrilously slandered by McCarthy and others in public, without protest or protection from the Secretary-General, custodian of the Declaration of Human Rights."

Select Committee exposes arms waste

THE Select Committee on Estimates is calling for an investigation into armaments expenditure.

It seems that not merely are armaments economic waste, but that the waste that is being achieved is being achieved wastefully.

What is wanted according to the Select Committee is an investigation along three lines: a review of major works in progress or contemplated; a review of works ancillary to main projects in order to see that they conform to the limitations of the present financial situation; and an investigation into the allocation of priorities.

"It would appear," say the Committee, "that the average time between the time when the schemes are approved and when they come into operation is often as much as ten years."

During the interval the whole situation on which estimates were based, and in the field of research, may have completely changed.

The Committee discloses that big works for tank experiments at Chobham, Surrey, will now have to be scrapped at a cost of several millions.

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N4
STAmford Hill 2262 (three lines)

5th September, 1952.

NOT ON HAMPSTEAD

THE first civil defence recruiting meeting in Hampstead since the war was held a week or two ago.

It was addressed by Mr. G. Stroud Osbourn, who said that there was little chance of an atom bomb ever falling on Hampstead. "When one considers the cost of an atom bomb it hardly seems likely that the enemy will waste one on a quiet residential area like Hampstead."

West Ham, Poplar or Stepney, maybe, perhaps even Kensington or Chelsea; but not on Hampstead!

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It would take at least 20 atom bombs to make any impression on London, said Mr. Osbourn, and he questioned whether there would be as many as this available for London as there will be "lots of other cities to bomb"; and as it was presumably to be questioned whether there would be 20 available for Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool or Manchester it may be taken that it would not be possible for an enemy to make any impression on these either.

So everything is all right, and Hampstead people may contemplate an atomic war with easy minds!

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Hiroshima was a town of 340,000 people. A small atom bomb—much less powerful than those now available—dropped there on August 6, 1945, destroyed four square miles of its area. Of its inhabitants it killed a number variously computed from 70,000 to 100,000; and of those who suffered under that bomb those who were killed—certainly those who were killed outright—were not the most unfortunate.

Is Mr. Osbourn a demiurge that he can contemplate the inflicting of death on some multiple of seventy thousand people, and terrible suffering on a great many more as something that makes "no impression"? No, of course not. He is just a man who has felt obliged to permit his imagination to become sterilised, because if he were to allow it to operate he would not be able to proceed with the job he has undertaken to do.

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Did he recommend to his audience that they should acquaint themselves with the contents of Mr. John Hersey's book describing what happened at Hiroshima? That book is very pertinent to the subject with which he was dealing, although it may not harmonise very easily with the "not on Hampstead" vein. Has he read it himself, we wonder?

We hope he has not; for whoever can have read that book and continue to talk in the dehumanised vocabulary of the civil defence lecturer is in danger of becoming something less than a complete human being. Nevertheless, we hope he will read it; and we should like to see it made obligatory reading for every Civil Defence official.

Whatever else it might do to them we think it would prevent most of them from talking in the terms used by Mr. Stroud Osbourn.

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After remarking that "Shelters can be provided which can protect you from the atom bomb," but without venturing to say, judging by the report in the Hampstead Express, that they would be provided, Mr. Osbourn went on to declare:

"The atomic bomb will be to future generations what heavy bombing was to us in the last war. They will go on living and fighting wars as we are doing today."

Well, one has to choose between one's estimate of Mr. Osbourn's capacity to judge and that of, say, Dr. J. H. Framlin, Senior Lecturer in Physics at Birmingham University, who has said that British civilisation will probably be destroyed in the event of an atomic war; or that of Professor Einstein, who has remarked that there "emerges more and more distinctly the spectre of general annihilation."

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For ourselves, if we have to choose between these forecasts of the future we prefer that of Dr. Einstein to that of Mr. Osbourn as being the less pessimistic.

If it could be really true that, knowing what was done when those crimes were committed at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, men and women are ready to agree that these things shall be done again and again on a larger and larger scale Einstein's "general annihilation" ceases to be a spectre. It becomes a vision of hope. It would make for a cleaner universe.

Trygve Lie on Korea

THE disquietude displayed by Mr. Trygve Lie about the Korean situation in his annual report would seem to be an attempt on his part to revive the international character of the United Nations Organisation.

Although what is being done in Korea today is, when the American generals think of it, still being done under the sign of UN, it is quite clear that the United Nations have very little control over what is happening.

Unless the whole matter is brought under review at the meeting of the Assembly it will be apparent to the world that the United Nations has no authority.

The Secretary-General's action, which has undoubtedly called for a certain degree of courage, is an attempt to prepare the way for the discussion that is necessary.

The Eisenhower threat

THE belligerence of Mr. Eisenhower's speech to the American Legion Convention can doubtless be partly explained by the type of audience that he was addressing as well as by the fact that although the speech was "non-political" it was part of an election campaign.

The explanation however provides little reassurance for the peoples of the European West. For if Mr. Eisenhower feels that it is necessary for him to talk like this because he is engaged in an election it means that his speech represents his estimate of an important part of American opinion.

The speech concerned itself with what "our Government" should, with "cold finality," say to the Russian Government.

It was "our Government" that was to do this, it should be noted. The United Nations did not come into the picture; neither did NATO for that matter.

The peoples of the Atlantic Pact have no votes in the Presidential elections; they would merely have to bear the brunt of the "get tough" policy that Mr. Eisenhower advocates.

He wants it to be made clear that the United States will never rest content until "the tidal mud of aggressive Communism has receded within its own borders," and that "we shall never recognise the slightest permanence in Russia's position in Eastern Europe and Asia."

Now we do not like, any more than Mr. Eisenhower, many of the things that have happened in some of the countries of Eastern Europe. What has happened, however, has not happened as a result of Russian military invasion.

We should frankly like to see a different type of government in Czechoslovakia for instance—although doubtless not of the type that Mr. Eisenhower would like—but whatever our desires in this matter Czechoslovakia is recognised as a sovereign state and is a member of the United Nations.

An attempt from outside to "push back the tidal mud of Communism" would be an aggression; there would be just as much justification—possibly more—for its resistance on the basis of the United Nations Charter as there has been in Korea against North Korea and China.

It should be made clear to the Americans, both Democrats and Republicans, that the European nations do not propose to be with them in an aggressive ideological war.

Battle-front appointment

THE United States government has a Psychological Strategy Board, with the function of formulating and co-ordinating United States policy in the field of psychological strategy against Soviet and other Communist propaganda throughout the world.

The fact that such a board exists is symptomatic of, and part of the explanation of, the menacing lack of honest directness and straight dealing in the field of international relations. It helps to explain why it is impossible for any approach towards negotiations for the peaceful settlement of differences ever to be received, or made, without search for, or concealment of, an ulterior motive.

It is a governmental instrument for the bedevilling of decent diplomatic intercourse.

We do not urge, of course, that this attitude is confined to the US and that the USSR is free of it. The West takes for granted and condemns Russian duplicity. It assumes, however, that it can announce its own duplicity without being condemned for it.

It means also that when the U.S. Government uses the term "cold war" the accent is on the word "war"; it is not expected (is it even hoped?) that the present international tension can be overcome and a period of genuine peace ensue. It is assumed that the appropriate successor to a cold war is a hot war. Strategy therefore has to operate now.

The Psychological Strategy Board works under the supervision of the National Security Board. It consists of Under Secretary of State, David K. E. Bruce, Deputy Secretary of Defence, William C. Foster and General Walter Bedell Smith, the head of the Central Intelligence Agency.

A new Director has recently been appointed to the Board. He is Admiral Alan G. Kirk, Chairman of the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia which has as its objective the unifying Soviet exiled groups for a common propaganda struggle against the Stalinist

BEHIND THE NEWS

regime. These organisations work together in sponsoring "Radio Liberation," a transmitter being built near Munich for broadcasting to the Soviet Union.

The Psychological Strategy Board controls the policy of "Voice of America."

The character of this appointment is full of menace for Western Europe when it is considered in conjunction with the pronouncements of both the Presidential candidates.

An American victory for "free enterprise"

NINE years ago the father of a boy of two years of age was shot by the Gestapo. The boy's mother was sent to Auschwitz concentration camp.

The boy was put into a Nazi orphanage and was later adopted by a Sudeten German couple living in Yugoslavia, the adoptive father being an SS man.

After the war these were expelled and settled near Kassel. Released from Auschwitz the mother was able, with the help of the Yugoslav Red Cross and the International Refugee Organisation to find her son.

She petitioned for his return. The ruling given was that the child should remain with his foster-parents, and the court of appeals of the United States High Commission in Frankfurt has just confirmed this ruling.

The Court were presumably setting aside political considerations and did not regard the question whether a former Nazi SS trooper would provide a better parent than the boy's Yugoslav mother as a matter that should occupy them; and it has to be admitted that it would be difficult to say which way one would expect the balance to fall if they were to take that into account. The Court held that they were doing what was best for the boy and that this required that "the mother must sacrifice her natural feelings."

The majority opinion, signed by Chief Justice William Clark with the concurrence of Justice Mark J. Robinson (Justice Karl W. Fulghum dissenting) said:

"We are sure if she thinks about it she will realise, however hard it may be, her boy will be happy. To take him away from the people he thinks are his parents, from his school and companions in the country he regards as his own, and to send him to an alien environment and place him among strangers, of whom his mother is one, seems to us cruel. The tragedies of war are manifold, and our decision just underlines another one."

The view of the boy himself should count for something in the matter and that we are not given. What does trouble us somewhat, however, is the question of the relevance of another comment made by the Justices.

They remarked that although Yugoslavia "seems not as bad socially and democratically as most Communist dictatorships, we think it compares economically unfavourably with free enterprise western Germany as a place to be brought up in."

Criminal irresponsibility

A NOTE on the forthcoming Communist Congress; a remark that Malenkov is now beside Stalin at the levers of the Party power; then this:

"Meantime the next Five Year Plan has been announced showing an increase of industrial production of between 70 and 100 per cent as the target."

While nothing is said about guns, Russians are promised 70 per cent more butter. As in the past Stalin will no doubt get his guns as well as his butter—or else."

It will be observed that the writer has really nothing he can say on the subject of Russian armaments, and he makes this the basis of his complaint about Russian arms. The extent to which the material of this leaderette in the London Star is supplied by what is not there is emphasised by the fact that the heading given to it is "—OR ELSE."

Could there be a plainer example of irresponsible war-mongering?

The Star used to have higher standards than this.

An MP writes to his constituent

IF you do not agree with me you must agree with that other fellow whose views I dislike so intensely. A lot of other people do not like his views either. As you agree with him they will equally dislike you."

This is a crude logical fallacy that the more unpleasant type of politician finds very useful. It is not confined to the Communist and the Fascist and wherever it comes from it leads to the debasement of thought and to intolerance.

A reader of Peace News recently wrote

to her MP. She expressed her concern about what was happening to the Korean civilian population, and the character of the Syngman Rhee Government and protested against the rearmament of Germany and Japan.

In acknowledging her letter her parliamentary representative said:

"I have your letter and note you are opposed to the United Nations effort in Korea and elsewhere and prefer to follow the line put out by Soviet Russia."

This of course is merely a crude discourtesy that has not in itself any serious consequences. It represents the beginning of a social disease, however, that can result in making independent thought and expression almost impossible and can lead to the legal condemnation of any attempt at progress that has not received governmental approval.

The line of development is strikingly exemplified in the application of the Suppression of Communism Act in South Africa.

Here are some of the comments made by the magistrate, Mr. E. G. Halse, in passing sentence on Mr. E. S. Sachs under this Act.

"It is common knowledge that one of the aims of Communism is to break down race barriers and strive for equal rights for all sections of the people, and to do so without any discrimination of race, colour or creed."

"It is well known that all the democracies of the world consider that Communism is menacing peace and order, turning the world upside down and making stable and decent life impossible."

"The Union of South Africa, with its peculiar problems created by a population overwhelmingly non-European, is fertile ground for the dissemination of Communist propaganda."

"This would endanger the survival of the Europeans, and therefore legislation must be pursued with the object of suppressing Communism."

The mental processes of the writer of the letter we have quoted have quite a deal in common with the framers of this Act.

Mr. Deakin points the way

"NEVER has a war occurred when all the nations of the world were prepared for it," pronounced Mr. Arthur Deakin from the Presidential Chair of the Trades Union Congress.

Well, well! It is an interesting doctrine, but it needs developing. Mr. Deakin does not seem to have perceived the need to provide some examples of the occasions in history when all the world has been prepared for war and it consequently did not occur.

But apart from the need for this kind of historical justification, there is surely a need to propound a positive policy based on the dictum. It becomes more than necessary that we should have better information as to the extent of Russian preparation. We need to know whether she is sufficiently armed.

It would be deplorable if only the West were pulling its weight in these measures to prevent the occurrence of war and if Russia or some of the Eastern countries were letting us down through unpreparedness.

Mr. Deakin might see if he can get the matter raised at the General Assembly meeting of the United Nations.

TOPSY-TURVY

WE have reached the beginning of September, which means that two-thirds of the year has gone by, but I am afraid that the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund has received only £282 out of the £1,000 which we aim at getting during 1952.

In other words the position is almost the reverse of what we had hoped, and instead of having received £670 with only £330 to raise in the last four months, we have to try to raise two-thirds of our total in the last one-third of the year.

May I remind you that Headquarters Fund did raise over £1,000 for the PPU last year, and although that was a record we hoped that what could be achieved in one year could also be achieved in the next.

I still believe that to be possible and refuse to give up hope that we shall reach our £1,000 by December 31. I realise, however, that means that somehow I must find the way of appealing to each and all of you which will call out the generous response you are capable of making. I wish I knew how to do it. So I am not only asking every reader of Peace News to make a very special response this week, but also to let me know what kind of appeal would touch your heart if this does not.

If I could say to each one of you personally "Please give me 5s. (or more) for the work of the PPU" most, if not all, of you would immediately put your hand in your purse or pocket. But the need is just as great and the cause just as vital, though I can only appeal to you in this way.

Will you please forgive the inadequacy of the words and the impersonal nature of the appeal, and think only of the need and the cause, because then I am sure you will send something to help and we can reverse the present position of Headquarters Fund.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Amount received to date: £282.
Amount still to come: £718.
Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund" to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

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MODERN WAR THREATENS OUR MORAL DESTRUCTION

By The Editor

WE have recently received a letter of expostulation from a good friend of Peace News in India, for whose record and character we have a very great respect. We nevertheless disagree with her, and in this article we propose to set out why, and to make a plea that the tremendous moral issue that hangs over mankind today shall be seen in proper perspective.

Our correspondent has only recently received the issue of Peace News for July 18 and she takes exception to the article by Cyril Hughes: "The Importance of Not Being Earnest." While not herself a member of the Church of England, she says, "I owe the awakening of my mind and heart to the 'pacifist' implications of Christian discipleship very largely to the noble, faithful and clear-sighted witness of members of that Church; and she remarks, very truly, that "The Church is not the only institution where the wheat and the tares grow together till the harvest."

Although our correspondent probably objected to the vein of satire that ran through the article as a whole we think we are right in the assumption that the gravamen of our contributor's offence lay in his comment on the following paragraph extracted from a pronouncement of the Archbishop of York:

"The fact that Christians believed that injustice might be a worse sin than war, that freedom was more important than peace, that it might be right to support war as the lesser of two horrible evils, must not allow us to forget that the Church condemned war."

On this Cyril Hughes commented: "So it seems if we are to judge by Dr. Garbett, that the Church is back to its old formula—that you may do what you like, as long as you do it with proper expressions of regret."

and he went on to supply a parallel to this attitude in a less important field of human activity. We suggest to our correspondent that in making her criticism she is failing to grasp the immensity and the urgency of the issue that our contributor was presenting. It is not only the Church we are concerned with here. It is with every man and woman who believes that moral consideration should enter into the governance of conduct.

The Churches—and particularly the Archbishops—inevitably present themselves more readily for comment, as they are the official representatives of the nation's moral conceptions. The facts that they have to be brought to face are very harsh facts, the harshest that mankind has yet had to deal with; if by a little of roughness of language we feel we can help to bring them to the point where they will cease seeking to evade these facts, that is the kind of language we should use. "I do not know how people like the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury reconcile genocide with Christianity," said Reginald Thompson in last week's Peace News. Neither do we. What we do observe, however, is that they are prepared to condemn genocide, and the abominations that are the means to genocide, in general terms, so long as they can evade giving them a particular application.

We want the Churches to pronounce on these things—and particularly we

want the Archbishops, the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in this country, and the leaders of British Non-conformity—to speak plain words about them that can be understood and can provide moral guidance for simple men and women.

We will give an example. The Archbishop of York has condemned the use of napalm in very eloquent and moving terms. Describing it as a weapon that "inflicts terrible and indiscriminate loss and suffering," he said that "The Christian Church, though unable to prevent war, should call on all nations to pledge themselves to refrain from the use of weapons which indiscriminately destroy those for whom Christ died as if they were worthless flies."

It is clear from that passage that the Archbishop has been deeply moved by what he has learnt about the things that have been done with napalm; it led some people to hope that it might have brought him to the point where he would no longer evade the moral issue presented.

Such hopes have been disappointed, however. Asked by a correspondent in the Daily Telegraph to give moral guidance to any British soldier in Korea who might be called on "to destroy those for whom Christ died as if they were worthless flies" the Archbishop has refrained from replying. On two further occasions we have repeated this question in Peace News, but the Archbishop has still kept silent.

There is only one way in which this silence can be characterised. It is moral cowardice.

Now, let us make it clear that we do not single out the Archbishop as being specially besmirched by this moral weakness; he shares it with a host of other folk; indeed one may have some sympathy with the Archbishop. His situation is not an easy one, and it is also not likely that he could give the moral guidance that one may judge from his words his conscience would dictate and still remain one of the princes of the British State Church.

It is because the Archbishop shares that lack of moral courage with so many thousands of other people that the world is clearly drifting faster and faster to disaster.

In his article last week, Reginald Thompson said that it was "in Korea for the first time I knew at first hand the shame and utter horror of the indiscriminate massacre of the defenceless, unable to hit back."

We all knew something of that shame and utter horror, however, when those crimes were committed at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. For we well knew then that the things that had been done were crimes. But we turn our faces from the realities of these things.

Even the most socially-minded have turned their faces away. Never, for instance, at a Labour Party conference, has anybody asked that Mr. Attlee or any other member of the war-time Cabinet should say whether he was a party to what was done at Hiroshima and Nagasaki and whether or not subsequent reflection he holds that what he agreed to can be justified before the moral conscience of mankind.

Nobody will ask these things at the forthcoming Labour Party Conference.

It is because our shame about these things inflicts us with moral cowardice that the peoples of the world are drifting to moral destruction; and it is this moral destruction that is a much more terrible thing to contemplate than its physical counterpart, for we agree with Mr. Reginald Thompson when he says "The atom bomb is the ultimate expression of cowardice; the ultimate affront to human dignity."

It is the willingness to use the thing that is the horror, much more than the dread of suffering under it.

ITALIAN WAR RESISTER'S NEW BOOK

GIOVANNI PIOLI is one of the great figures of the War Resisters' International. Trained for the Roman Catholic Church, he withdrew from it in the middle years of his life and became a teacher. He left the Church because of his pacifism.

During the time of Mussolini he was not allowed to teach in any of the more important schools because it was known that he did not accept the Fascist doctrine. He has been in prison because of his views, and finally was dismissed from the teaching position he held because of his opposition to Fascism and because of his pacifist belief.

Pioli's work has developed the idea of resistance to war in Italy, and there is an increasing number of young men who take this stand.

He has written a number of books having a bearing on the peace issue. The latest of these is on Faustus Socinus.

Faustus Socinus of Sienna, the great religious reformer who lived in the second half of the sixteenth century, proclaimed

Can law prevent war?

"We shall not stop war by nice tidy machinery," writes FRANK DAWTRY

A RECENT number of the "Revue de Droit International" (the international law review) has a long article by Dr. Antoine Sotille of Geneva arguing for the creation of a permanent international criminal court. This sounds good, and if it were an effort to codify criminal law and deal with international criminals such as pirates and drug-traffickers, it might be a very useful idea.

The whole argument, however, relates to international crimes against peace, to genocide and all the other crimes first dealt with by a so-called international tribunal at Nuremberg and later at Tokyo. The argument is plausible and a pacifist must try to avoid a too easy condemnation of it, founded on his natural suspicion about all the systems for preventing war and the highly convincing schemes of "all the nice league people" (as Arthur Ponsonby used to call them) who hope to organise peace but will refuse to renounce war, and will keep their powder dry "just in case."

The Court and conscience

The proposed permanent international court is to deal with aggressors—the responsible offenders will be leaders of states—and with crimes arising from war. (Incidentally the Court will regard any who act under orders as morally responsible if a moral choice was open to them, so future conscientious objectors will be strengthened in their determination not to stifle conscience and so be held responsible for the crimes of war into which they may innocently be dragged). The sponsor regards the whole idea as a preventive of war and its creation as being more important than "speeches, treaties of friendship and treaties of non-aggression in which mankind no longer puts its faith."

But if a treaty of non-aggression gives us no faith because we cannot trust the parties to keep it, are we to believe that a threat of punishment by an international court will deter the aggressor whom we cannot trust? The value of the whole scheme thus stands or falls on deterrence. So famous an international lawyer as Dr. Sotille should by now have discovered that threats of punishment in civil or criminal law do not deter. The worst threat—that of capital punishment—has been abandoned in half the world because of its failure (amongst other reasons) and the murder figures of the world show that murder is no more rare where the final deterrent has gone, than it is in the countries where the death penalty remains.

Another Court of the victors?

In international affairs deterrence is still less likely to be effective. The only thing the aggressor will be led to do is to be sure that his aggression succeeds, then the international court will not be in a position to deal with him. The court will in fact not come into operation until its so-called deterrent effect has manifestly failed—and then it can be nothing but another Nuremberg—a court of the victors. In the general scheme the judges are to be appointed without thought of their nationality, and are then to be above nationality; nevertheless no judge belonging to an offending or aggressor nation will sit to deal with that aggressor or offender.

The preamble to the scheme concentrates on a defence of the Nuremberg and Tokyo courts and procedure and reads like the special pleading of a man with serious doubts. Though attempting to set Nuremberg and Tokyo up as examples of what can be done by an international court, Dr. Sotille suggests that the addition of neutral judges would have prejudiced the neutrality of their countries, as this was a military

court. It is all rather confusing and contradictory.

"Tribunals like Nuremberg," says Dr. Sotille, "attract reactionary criticism from die-hards who look upon ancient juridical principles as eternal dogmas." So now we know—away with the eternal principles in the good name of international justice.

It would be nice to be able to praise Dr. Sotille's arguments as warmly as one must praise his industry and erudition. It would, however, be misleading and dishonest to do so. We shall not stop war by nice tidy legal machinery; and its preparation for use after a war is a waste of time for it can then hardly hope to be neutral and impartial in operation. Pacifists often wish they could support these cautious schemes which have a germ of good in them, but on the issue of peace or war no half way house will do; our renunciation of it must be final and on principle because it is morally wrong. The threat that it may bring dire punishment will not stop it or it would have stopped centuries ago; for the punishments of war are written in history and not in any code of law.

LAW FOR THE LAYMAN

Justice at Work, by James Avery Joyce. Chapman and Hall, 12s. 6d

JAMES AVERY JOYCE, well-known to readers of Peace News, has produced a new type of book on law for the layman.

There have been a number of these books in recent years which have attempted to explain the law in popular language, but they have rarely done much to make it alive and interesting. Joyce succeeds in doing this by selecting for discussion some human aspects of the law. The first part of his book deals with law in the courts and discusses lawyers, judges, magistrates, witnesses, prisoners, and the administrative tribunals which have in recent years superseded law courts in certain fields. A chapter describes the new provisions for the legal assistance in courts of persons of moderate means. The proposed legal aid centres will not, however, be under local government supervision. There is a very interesting chapter in which the author quotes part of the summing-up of Mr. Justice Scrutton in the Brides in the Bath murder case. As he analyses this summing-up Joyce shows how the judge's mind works and what the judge's function is. Thinking as a judge is obviously very different from thinking as an advocate.

In Part II of the book, the law is illustrated by the discussion of a number of cases. The chapter on the Soapbox will interest pacifists, although it cannot be taken as a guide to outdoor meetings.

Part III deals with a number of legal matters of interest to nearly everyone, such as husbands and wives, debtors, hire purchase and motoring. The chapter on dogs considers one of Joyce's specialities. He has found an ancient case which decided that the owner of a dog which was a terror to the local goats was not liable when the dog bit a grey-bearded old gentleman peacefully strolling down the streets. This was because evidence of a propensity to bite goats was not evidence that the dog was prone to bite human beings!

The last part of the book deals with certain government departments and ministers and there is also an interesting chapter on elections. The clerks at polling stations are pledged to secrecy but the author says this rule did not prevent a suitable answer being given when a voter, ballot paper in hand, surveyed the assembled staff within the station and demanded "which of you gentlemen is the Conservative Candidate?"

Joyce has long experience of lecturing to adult audiences on the subjects he has dealt with in this book and in it he answers the questions which must have been put to him after his lectures. Many things therefore, that ordinary men and women want to know about the English law and legal system will be found here. Moreover, as one expects, Joyce is able to criticise and in the introduction and throughout the book a number of useful suggestions are found for the reform of the law.

ROBERT S. W. POLLARD.

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Pledge Union Headquarters er at Dick Street, W.C.1.

Asked magistrate to act for peace

3 months for seaman CO

AN ex-merchant seaman, William E. Waterton, was summoned before Kingston County magistrates' court on August 20 for failing to submit to a medical examination for national service.

He had appeared before a local and an appellate tribunal earlier this year, telling them that he developed a conscientious objection to military service as a result of his contact with other countries during his five years service in the Merchant Navy, but did not succeed in obtaining recognition as a CO.

He told Kingston magistrates that he also believed he was exempt from call-up as a result of his service in the Merchant Navy, but Mr. Somerville Lees, prosecuting on behalf of the Ministry of Labour, said that this was not the case.

Waterton was fined £3, or one month's imprisonment, and ordered to be detained for 7 days to go before a medical board.

"Release me" appeal

The following day he appeared before the magistrates again, a police constable reporting that he had taken him to a medical board, but he refused to submit to examination.

"All I have to say," declared Waterton, according to a report in the Surrey Comet, "is that if the solicitor, the constable and the magistrates do not want war they would cross this case out and release me. That would be the greatest manifestation of the desire for peace that this country has ever seen, because there would be five people acting with the courage of their convictions as against one at the moment."

He was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, which gives him the right to make a further application to the tribunal.

Peace problems churches should study

HUBERT HOLDAWAY, recently appointed President of the Christian Pacifist Society of New Zealand, suggests that the time has come to establish Peace Fellowships in all the New Zealand churches.

He urges pacifists, in an article in the NZ Christian Pacifist, to approach their minister, Quarterly Meeting or other Church Court and see whether a group could not be established to study:

1. The teaching and mind of Jesus on peace and war;
2. The theology of pacifism and the theology that rejects pacifism;
3. International relationships such as the colour question—economic factors that lead to troubles amongst the nations, etc.
4. Practical things that are done to make for better relations between the peoples of the world—Colombo Plan, work for displaced persons, immigration, etc.

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India's silent revolution wins support from Right and Left

TWO-YEAR PLAN TO AID THE LANDLESS

By MARY WILLIS

VINOBA Bhave's Bhoodan-Yajna (Land-gift Mission), a campaign to persuade India's land-owners to give away part of their holdings to the landless which was described in Peace News of March 28, entered a fresh phase in April, when 2,000 delegates at a conference at Sevapuri Ashram, near Benares, pledged themselves to collect 2½ million acres of land all over India within the next two years.

An official blessing was given to the campaign at this conference by Pandit Pant, Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh (the former United Provinces) and Mr. Harekrishna Mahtab, Minister for Commerce in the Central Government.

After the conference, Vinoba set out on a fresh tour with a party of followers, spending, as is his practice, one day in each village and appealing for gifts. This time there was an innovation when for the first time some of the workers went to a village without Vinoba, and explained his mission.

"Out of 32 families in that village," says an article in Harijan, "twenty were those of the landholders, while twelve were landless. When they were apprised of the Bhoodan-Yajna and how it was their duty to part with some of their lands in favour of the poor, they collected among themselves 37 acres for the landless. Now there is none who is landless in that village."

The carpenter's gift

This emphasises an important fact about the campaign—it is not only the large land-owners who are asked to contribute, but all who have more land than they need. At one place, a carpenter offered all his 12½ acres of land, saying that he followed another occupation and earned his livelihood from it.

In recent months, two Right-wing political parties—RSS and Jan Sangh—have given their support to the programme and gifts have been received from members of these parties, as well as from Socialists and Communists.

In each district, Vinoba consults with his followers as to the target they will aim at, and several times recently this has been fixed at a lakh acres (100,000). One such district is Sultanpur, which pledged itself to collect 30,000 acres by the end of June, and 100,000 acres during the succeeding twelve months. The people of Sultanpur also promised to give their labour freely to break 5,000 acres of land, and dig 200 new ponds or improve old ponds.

There have been two instances where the people of a village have given the whole

of their land to the cause. Big land-owners have given 300, 500 or even 2,000 acres. By June 21, a total of 244,424 acres of land had been given, and re-distributed to those whose need was greatest.

"Dawn of a new age"

Speaking at Lucknow recently, Vinoba Bhave summed up the meaning of his campaign in these words:

"The Bhoodan-Yajna movement is comparatively a small one but it has attracted the attention of the people from all over the world and they are praising it. They say that a strange thing is happening in India: people part with their lands voluntarily. And really it is a phenomenon which deserves to be pondered over with humility and in the spirit of a seeker of Truth.

"While all over the world outside our country, nations are busy slandering one another and grabbing whatever they can, here in India begins the dawn of a new and happier age, the age of giving, and the indwelling Lord is waking up. Hence I am sure that if we keep patient and continue to work with faith and courage, this idea and the truth it embodies will certainly go forth from here and encompass the world."

Hiroshima and Korea a warning to Germany

"DO not take the path of re-armament, which has already led us twice to catastrophe, do not join any pact which will make our land a parade ground for two opposing armies, and almost inevitably condemn our people to the fate of Hiroshima and Korea."

So ended a message sent to Dr. Adenauer and the German Federal Parliament at a meeting held in Stuttgart on August 6 to mark the 7th anniversary of the dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima.

Over 500 people were present at the meeting, which was organised by the Joint Council of Independent Peace Organisations in Stuttgart.

J. H. Wentink of Holland said that re-armament must inevitably lead to war, and appealed to the audience not to be misled by war propaganda. Everyone should refuse to do any kind of work which was linked up with war preparations.

Marianne Hammer, of Stuttgart, spoke of the need for all, especially mothers, to devote all their energies to working for peace, so that the children might be spared the terrors of another world war. "No-one can stand aside when the lives of children are at stake," she said.

A POSITIVE POLICY FOR PEACE

By R. A. Jauralde, L.I.B.

hatred by destructive criticism of opponents, we should strive to gain a sympathetic understanding of all points of view, above all the great religions and philosophies in whose deepest beliefs lies the essential unity of mankind.

Before any political and economic policy can be made acceptable to the world as a whole, a synthesis must be made of the systems now prevailing. It must be realised that the corporate responsibility which is the highest aim of Marxism is not incompatible with the fullest respect for individual liberty.

Development projects

A Peace Research Unit might be formed to study the more material causes of war and unrest—poverty, hunger, illiteracy, disease, political and economic restrictions—and the remedies already suggested or devised. In particular, full advantage should be taken of the practical experience gained in those thousands of co-operative enterprises, large and small, which are now functioning or which have been attempted in the past.

As a result of this study a comprehensive programme could be evolved, regarding the world as a unified organism and with the welfare of mankind, on a basis of equality, as its object. The possibilities of greatly extending democratic control, in the economic as well as in the political fields, would have to be examined.

Special attention should be paid to campaigns of technical aid, development and reconstruction as outlined in "War on Want," many of which, it is hoped, would be launched before a world plan is worked out in detail. Such projects, if properly organised, would give valuable experience in practical co-operation and should help to generate good will.

If that dense barrier of suspicion, the Iron Curtain, is to be successfully broken down some gesture on a really bold and generous scale is needed. This might take the form of a proposal to start a number of

joint development schemes in "danger points" on the borders between the present Eastern and Western spheres of influence.

First priority should be given to a joint campaign by the present belligerents to repair the frightful devastation of Korea. The "targets" would not be military objectives to be destroyed but homes, factories, schools and roads to be re-built, sick and wounded people to be healed, destitute people to be clothed and fed.

Such a campaign might well lead to an outbreak of good will among the ordinary folk of the two great hostile blocs which, if carefully fostered, could lead to a new era for the world. Once they felt the joy of working together on a large scale to satisfy their mutual needs, the battle for a lasting peace would be more than half won. The forms and systems of co-operation would evolve more naturally once the dynamic impulse had been let loose.

Thousands of scientists and technical experts who are at present devising increasingly devilish contraptions for destroying life would turn their attention to means for saving life and making it happier. Instead of working in conditions of secrecy and isolation there would be full and free exchange of information between the best brains of East and West.

Working together

With trade blockades, embargoes and other barriers removed, prosperity in one country would not threaten bankruptcy in others. Textile workers would not go unemployed while their brothers and sisters in other countries went underclad and faced death from cold.

Individuals and races would find self-fulfilment by working together within a world-community in which each was free to develop his natural talents for the benefit of the whole. The "advanced" races would exchange their material benefits for the often greater spiritual gifts of the more "primitive." In striving together to build a world in which freedom and justice prevailed, they would find that one recipe for supreme happiness is to concentrate every faculty on the achievement of a constructive goal.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Peace parade will greet Mr. Attlee

WHEN Mr. Attlee arrives at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, on Saturday afternoon, September 13, to address a Labour Party meeting, he will be greeted by a poster parade calling for an end to conscription.

This is one of two demonstrations arranged for next month by the Manchester United Peace Fellowship, members of which are the Society of Friends, Women's International League, Folt, PPU, ILP and No Conscription Council.

On the preceding Sunday, September 7, a United Peace Procession led by a band, will march from Ardwick Green to Platt Fields, where Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the PPU, is to address an open air meeting.

Volunteers are wanted to carry posters and distribute leaflets on both occasions, and full particulars will be found in the Diary column on page 5.

The West Leeds PPU Group, which was recently re-formed, has already planned a series of meetings for the autumn. The first, on September 17, will be a debate on conscription, opened by a Conservative ex-Councillor and a prominent Quaker.

Enquiries will be welcomed by the Secretary, Ted Matthews, 14 New Scarborough Road, Bramley, Leeds.

Student pacifists have won the right of exemption from compulsory military training at Willamette University Oregon, USA. Their long campaign centred around the predicament of Lawrence Monk, a Fellowship of Reconciliation member, who submitted to military training only under protest and in an attempt to win exemption from the training.

"Cry, the Beloved Country" wins film award

"Cry, the Beloved Country" has been awarded the 1952 Selznick silver laurel award for an English-language film contributing to international good will. The film is based on the novel by Alan Paton, dealing with racial problems in Africa.

A 5-day Conference of Peace Builders, held in Hamburg last month to discuss and revise the work-study-travel system, unanimously decided to change the international name of the organisation to Servas, because so many contacts have complained that in their country the word "peace" is synonymous with Communism and hampers the work. The British Committee will keep the original name.

Bob Luitweiler, the American founder of the movement, returned from India for the conference, and is now planning to visit Denmark, Norway, France and Belgium to help form new committees.

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Peace News increasingly wins recognition as a source of basic facts and important information—the sort of background to and summary of the news which is necessary to everyone of humanitarian and progressive opinion.

We are proud to print this warm tribute from that stalwart campaigner for peace, the pacifist president of the National Union of Railwaymen. H. W. Franklin writes:

"I can wholeheartedly recommend Peace News to my fellow Trade Unionists, for—even if one does not accept the full pacifist viewpoint—readers will always find an objective survey of issues which affect war and peace. The authenticity of its news is something which all Trade Unionists would appreciate."

What are you doing to get Peace News to Trade Unionists, Labour and Co-op. supporters, church people and leaders of minority groups? You can have a dozen copies for free distribution each week for only 2s. 6d. post free.

PN sales have slumped to little over 11,500 a week during August. We need many more regular sellers and distributors, the success of our cause requires the active support of every reader.

Who will help to drive PN sales up again.

H.F.M.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Meat and the food shortage

WHILE it is true that our present economy involves the slaughter of bull calves and surplus cockerels if the lacto-vegetarian is to have his milk, cheese and eggs, such slaughter need not be, and a vegetarian nation would organise its economy to avoid it.

Soil fertility is declining, and remaining fertility is being burnt up by poison sprays and chemical "fertilisers", because of a shortage of animal manure. Twenty million acres of land in Britain is virtually unproductive because there is insufficient animal manure to keep it fertile. If flesh eaters did not prefer to consume the bull calves and cockerels, they could be used to convert these marginal acres from game preserves to productive land. Ranging over this land, finding their own food or being fed on crops of the kind which such land will grow for animals but not for humans, they would build up fertility to the stage when supplemented by town wastes of an organic nature, human food could be grown.

When the millions of acres of unproductive land are so used we may then consider, should nature fail to maintain a balance of human and animal, whether man should intervene to slaughter the surplus animals. But in the meantime, I agree with Florence M. Beach, that lacto-vegetarians cannot escape responsibility for the slaughter of some animals.

I don't agree with her that the subject should not be discussed in Peace News. The world food shortage is being exaggerated by the acreage demands of meat production, this form of food production being recognised as the most wasteful of available acres of fertile soil. While the world insists on a meat diet it must needs fight for the possession of the remaining and diminishing areas of fertile land which are quite inadequate to the production of such a diet for all, yet ample to the abundant production of a lacto-vegetarian diet for many more than present or foreseeable future world population.

I am convinced that one of the most potent contributions to world peace will be the increasing adoption of a diet which will remove the present strain on available acres and free the nations from the need of a perpetual jungle scramble.

Pacifists have too long been eating the bodies of their fellow creatures and the soil of their fellow men in other countries, while telling them with self-satisfied piety that it is wrong to fight back. The time has come for much less talk about peace and more actions of the kind that will stop the need for war.

F. NEWMAN TURNER.

"Defence Without Arms"

HALLAM TENNYSON asks "Are we as Pacifists merely going to 'appease'?" It is a pity that he uses a word that is as odious as the word "peace" with the unthinking press and follows it up with a reference to Gandhi's dictum that armed resistance is better, a dictum untrue, and false to the philosophy of the East, and lacking that understanding which one pacifist should have for another.

There is no pacifist who would object to such resistance on principle, but whereas according to pacifism it can never be wrong to abstain from war, it can be wrong to use non-violent resistance. This can happen, for instance, when this resistance is based on that pharisaical condemnation of others which is so potent a cause of war. Hallam Tennyson significantly refers to "international brigandage," a favourite cliché with the warmongering press.

Masochistic pacifism is a fiction. The pacifist aims at awakening the latent humanity of the other fellow. What admixture of "appeasement" and resistance best achieves this has to be decided according to the case. After all, even non-violent resistance might be considered a form of appeasement in as much as it does not assume that the enemy is vermin to be exterminated.

D. G. WILLIAMS,

153 Finlay Road, Gloucester.

Briefly...

Caravan Artists of England, an organisation devoted to the promotion of international understanding through art, held its first exhibition recently at 20 Buckingham Street, Strand. The event was so successful that a second exhibition is to be held from August 31 to September 7.

"South Africa Day," was observed in many parts of India on August 24 with a large number of people pledging their moral support to Africans and Indians in their fight for human rights in S. Africa.

For Conference hears report from Japan

CHRISTIAN people from many parts of the world, made up the group of 120 people attending the annual Summer Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation held recently at Darley Dale, Derbyshire.

The Rev. David R. Griffiths, of South Wales Baptist College, gave a series of lectures on Christian Pacifism in which he traced the development of the idea of peace and brotherhood through the Old Testament, emphasised the basis of Christian Pacifism to the life, teaching and death of Jesus and dealt with some of the problems facing Christians in present day society. Welcoming the development of the Ecumenical movement the Conference asserted that nothing less than the renunciation of war and preparation for war, and commitment to peace and the way of peace, by the world-wide Christian Church, would enable the creative and transforming power of God to be at work in the world.

Muriel Lester, who recently returned from a world tour on behalf of the For, described the movements in Japan which were opposing rearmament, and spoke of the continuing influence of the teachings of Gandhi in India, where, she said, the people still believed in the possibility of peace without resort to arms.

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JACK NORTON, General Secretary

Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Friday, September 5

BULL: 7.30 p.m. 6 Bond St. "Meet Connie Jones." An account of her work in consolidating groups and forming new ones. Time for discussion. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2: 1.30 p.m. St. Martin-in-the-Fields. Intercession Service for Peace. The Rev. Francis Noble.

CHELSEA: 8 p.m. Manor St. (Opposite Town Hall). Open-air mtg. PPU.

Sunday, September 7

LONDON, N.W.11: 2.30 p.m. King Alfred School, nr. Golders Grn. Under-16s; PPU London Area Garden Party; cricket match, side shows, celebrity stalls, refreshments; admission 1s, children free.

MANCHESTER: United Peace Process—Assembly Ardwick Green, 2 p.m. off 2.30, arrive Platt Fields 3.30 for open-air meeting. Speaker: Stuart Morris; offers of help with posters and leaflets to Fred Barton, Friends' Mtg. Ho. Mount St, Manchester. United Peace Fellowship.

Monday, September 8

COVENTRY: 7.45 p.m. 12 Stoney Stanton Rd. PPU group mtg.

Wednesday, September 10

LEEDS: 7.30 p.m. Belgrave Hall, New Wharfedale. Stuart Morris on "Why Re-arm Germany?" public mtg; adm 6d. PPU

Thursday, September 11

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho. Bush Rd. The Medical Association for the Prevention of War. PPU.

THIS MEANS YOU

The meetings announced in "Notes for your diary," are not confined to members of the organisations sponsoring them nor to pacifists. They are open to all. Some of the meetings are in large halls, some in small rooms, in private houses; they are organised by groups of people who want the support of those concerned with the preservation of peace. YOU will be made welcome.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m.

Inn Fields. Open-air mtg. Rev. Patrick Figgis. PPU.

Friday, September 12

BOURNEMOUTH: 7.30 p.m. Town Hall, St. Stephens Rd. Dr. Donald Soper and Rev. Francis Noble on "The Christian Alternative to War." Chair: Rev. David Francis. For.

Saturday, September 13

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m. Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St. Business mtg. PPU Religion Commission; visitors welcome.

MANCHESTER: Afternoon peace poster parade outside Free Trade Hall where Mr. Attlee is to address a Labour Party meeting; offers of help to Fred Barton, Friends' Mtg. Ho. Mount St, Manchester. United Peace Fellowship.

Sunday, September 14

HYDE PARK: 6 p.m. Speakers' Corner. Open-air mtg. Robert Horniman. PPU.

PRESTON: 2.45 p.m. Central Labour Hall, Lancaster Rd. Inauguration of N.W. Regional Group, Labour Pacifist Fellowship. All interested persons welcome.

BOURNEMOUTH: 6.30 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho. Avenue Rd. Reginald Reynolds on "Our Peace Testimony." SoF.

Tuesday, September 16

BIRMINGHAM: 7 p.m. Dick Sheppard Ho; members' mtg. PPU.

Thursday, September 18

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho. Bush Rd. Tom Rogers on "Communism and Peace." PPU

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields. Open-air Mtg; Robert Horniman. PPU.

Saturday, September 20

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. Wilfrid Wellock on "Factors involved in Peace Building Today," with special references to Gandhi's teaching and to the PPU Commissions; members of Commissions and others invited. PPU Social Order Commission.

Sat., Sept. 27-Sun., Sept. 28

LANCASTER: Grey Court Fellowship Guest House, Hest Bank. PPU N.W. Area Weekend Conference. Charge 15/- Sat. tea to Sun. tea. Bookings quickly to 11ew Lloyd, 25 Derwent Ave, Prescot.

Sat., Nov. 1-Sun., Nov. 2

DAWLISH: Fairfield Guest House. PPU Area Weekend Conference. Details later. Mary Blair (Room 59), 147 Holborn, E.C.1.

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DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS are required by the Thursday eight days prior to publication.

MEETINGS

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath, Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. Tube), Sunday evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

MRS. HEWLETT JOHNSON opens London Peace Fete Saturday afternoon September 13, King Alfred School, North End Rd. N.W.11.

EXHIBITION

STILL THREE more days! Caravan Artists' second exhibition opens Friday, 5.30-9.30; Saturday, 2-9.30; Sunday, 2-8.30. We would like to meet you. 20 Buckingham Street, Strand.

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PEACE WORK is available for all volunteers at Peace News office. Day-time and every Wednesday evening we shall be grateful for help. Write, phone, or just drop in to Peace News (STAmford Hill 2262), 3 Blackstock Road (above Fish and Cook. Stationers, Finsbury Park, N.4.

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Many groups in the struggle against war

By FRANK EMMANUEL

The writer is a member of the French Fellowship of Reconciliation and secretary of the Cartel International de la Paix. This survey, written especially for Peace News, has been translated from the French and will be concluded next week.

THE most impressive new historical phenomenon of the past few years, one which has been in evidence throughout the whole world but especially in Western Europe, and to a marked degree in France, Germany, Italy, Scandinavia and England, has been the birth and the progressive development (in the very heart of the psychological and technical pressure through which governments and the powers of darkness sought to drag the nations towards the greatest massacre of our time) of a counter-current of popular resistance to war.

Certainly the war machine has been slowed down since 1948 (at the time, however, that its size and power were increasing!) by the prudent fears of the two opposing blocs and by the doubt-begetting calculations of the chances of military victory or of economic annihilation by one side or the other. But it seems very possible that popular resistance to war may have been an effective factor in slowing down and then perhaps in halting the world race to perdition.

Let us bring to light and enumerate the more or less authentic and valid forms of the struggle against war. Let us begin with the more elementary and instinctive, and conclude with the more differentiated in the sense of the search after elemental truth, of spiritual power, and of revolutionary effectiveness. We shall then try to show the urgent need for a living synthesis of these various forms, with a view to shaping a plan of action universal rather than partisan.

Views of the average citizen

"No-one wants to make war"; then "non-one wants a war"! such are the phrases heard pretty well everywhere and which represent the views of about eighty per cent of Frenchmen. A "healthy egotism," a reasonable fear, are the motives behind these aphorisms: one cannot condemn these motives which are natural. Moreover, multiplying in our country in proportion as the conclusive experience of the localised wars (Korea and Indo-China) shows to the nation their perfect absurdity, these oversimplified affirmations, assuming that they are supported

by the words and actions of a few leading spirits, run the risk of being transformed into a "dam" of inertia.

Nevertheless, recalling the defeat of the "Rassemblement Universel pour la Paix" whose members (in 1939) rushed into the struggle as one man (with, of course, high-minded motives generally speaking, but motives insufficiently analysed!), one must always be prepared for the desertion of groups whose public pronouncements have no sound basis because their individual members have not committed themselves to any moral undertaking.

Political life

We have just outlined the vague aspirations to Peace of the average citizen, who plays his part usually unconsciously in the sub-democratic and capitalistic system of our Nation-State, and in whose case the absence of any personal resistance to war-preparations renders his type of pacifism ineffective. But, we shall be told, there are the responsible leaders of French political life: heads and members of government or of parliament, party leaders, even important civil servants.

We know, alas, that with the exception of the systematic opposition of the Communist Party, which is little concerned with absolute truth and with immediate effectiveness, the greater part of these worthy and pretended "responsible leaders" of public life have taken and continue to take every step conducive to precipitating us into war, abroad or at home, without having provided the Nation with the material means of preserving it from invasion and destruction! That is where the ill-confirmed victories of an incomplete Liberation lead.

Only a few of the genuine and uncorrupted members of the Resistance, Ch. d'Aragon, Claude Bourdet, l'Abbé Pierre (the great advocate of Federalism), Jacques Madaule, Jacques Nantet, Paul Boulet, stood out from this amorphous mass and endeavoured to deliver France from a dual dependence on the Great Powers of the day. Proclaiming alongside the group of Progressives led by Paul Rivet, an active neutralism, they sought and still seek to incorporate between them, in order to create a group for peaceful mediation, not only the French, but all the peoples who are neither Russian nor American.

In spite of their scanty numbers and of the recent electoral setback, these men of the "Independent Socialist Left" and of the "Cartel of Independent Leftists" have an inspirational rôle which is not to be overlooked. It is to be noted that some pacifists (even some absolutists), recognising the honesty, the progressive search for truth, and the absence of hatred in these policies, have assisted and are assisting in the promotion of their meetings. . . . We might therefore justifiably place them in a higher numerical category.

Military peacemakers

Before beginning consideration of the serious pacifist movements, that is to say either profoundly sincere or based on a wide popular membership, I must say a word on those specialised organisations, provided with substantial funds and which pretend to defend peace and liberty.

(a) "Moral Rearmament," started among members of the Oxford Group Movement by Frank Buchman, commands my entire admiration, as a Catholic, when it proclaims, for the temporal salvation of the world, the necessity for individual conversions. But when, contravening at the very least its "fourth criterion" (the search for Absolute Love), the Caux system, which at the beginning attracted disciples of non-violence by reason of that very criterion, ends with meetings with members of the General Staff, things are going wrong! It is not a movement working for peace that can publish the following formula: "Military rearmament is not sufficient for the defence of the West; we must add moral rearmament."

(b) "Peace and Liberty," a right-wing organisation, is inundating France with immense posters showing the power of the Red Army, but showing only that. Of course, it is not a bad thing to remind the Communists and their sympathisers that an army, even a Soviet Army, cannot by itself establish peace; that war, even in self defence, particularly today, cannot but destroy the Fatherland which it defends or the Ideology which it seems to spread by force of arms (and what arms!). But such an obvious truth must not be proclaimed, without providing evidence of the most odious bad faith, by people who voluntarily pass over in silence the American Atom Bomb.

Although the Partisans of Peace do not comply with the definition of a pacifism based on fundamental truth and on direct action inspired by spiritual or humanistic principles, we cannot refrain from acknow-

JOINING THE ARMY?

Military training is not the only form of National Service

— New PPU leaflet

THE Peace Pledge Union has published a new give-away leaflet "National Service—Conscript or Free," which is specially addressed to young men who are due to register for National Service.

The leaflet opens by drawing attention to the right of registering as a Conscientious Objector, and explaining the procedure.

It then examines some of the issues involved in the building up of armed forces, points out that military service is not the only, or the best form of national service, and urges those who feel that war is morally wrong to join with the thousands in this and other countries who refuse to support it.

Here are some extracts:

"Those who conscript you for military service would argue that it is necessary in the cause of peace and that a strong military force is the best contribution which Britain can make towards the prevention of war.

"If you will examine that argument you will see that if the British Government believe that, so also will other Governments.

"All therefore will want to increase their armed forces and be superior to any possible enemy—for the sake of peace.

"This leads to a race in armaments, which history shows has always led to war because it increases the fears and tensions until the situation becomes unbearable.

Our back-page columnists

EMRYS HUGHES, M.P.

is in China on a good will mission about which he will write on his return to England.

SYBIL MORRISON

is on holiday and will resume her column at the end of the month.

ledging the effectiveness of the French section of this great international movement; the French section called "Fighters for Peace and Liberty" of which Yves Farge and Fernand Vigne are the tireless leaders.

The success of this movement lies in the fact that its declarations, resolutions and publications, although discreetly approved by the USSR and forming part of the strategic plan of the Soviet bloc, have a quality of impartiality and general applicability with regard to the two blocs, and in the fact that not only the general public invited to its meetings, but even the most scrupulous pacifists, can or might subscribe to the literal meaning of the resulting texts! But the chief reason for the effectiveness of the "Fighters for Peace" is to be found in their topographical distribution, intelligently worked out to cover the whole of the country, with, consequently, a considerable power of penetration into all social layers and all professional groups. Even if, in order to defend the USSR, the more "hardened" of the Partisans of Peace resorted to arms, the less "hardened" caught in the trap of the truth of the words employed by the Movement, would at least act as a brake on the drive to war.

One very happy result of contacts made particularly in Paris between certain individual members of a few pacifist movements (such as the International Fellowship of Reconciliation and the International Voluntary Service for Peace) and the "Fighters for Peace" who went as delegates to the Congress at Warsaw, was the introduction of the idea of revolutionary non-violence into Communist circles at this Congress, and elsewhere.

(To be continued)

"Perhaps what you are really worried about is Communism. Many people suspect that the Russians want to destroy us, and no doubt many people in Russia believe that we want to destroy them.

"We know that they are wrong in thinking this; maybe we are wrong in thinking the same thing about them.

"In any case the real danger to us is not Communism but war. If we meet Communism by removing its causes and invite men to build with us a world free from hunger, disease and preventable death, we will beat it, for they will decide that they want none of it.

"Remember too, the purpose of military training is to make you efficient in killing, to overcome your natural reluctance to take the life of someone else, to make you part of the process of destruction.

"But that is only one side of the picture." "There are other forms of service than military training—service which helps to promote human welfare, to save life and not to kill.

"All of us want to be of some service to others—to put more into the common pool than we take out, and in planning our life we have to ask ourselves what is the best service we can give, and not assume that the only form of national service is joining the army.

"There are many opportunities for young men to give one or two years' full time in work camps and other forms of service here and abroad; and living and working with young men from other countries is a fine way of building up a better understanding and creating positive peace.

"These are some of the things which are involved in your choice.

"You are not bound to accept military service. You can ask to be exempt from it.

"It is not enough to have a hatred of war, a horror of killing or a dislike of all that is involved in military training. But if in your heart and mind you feel that war is morally wrong as well as ineffective and if you want to devote your life to the positive service of your fellow men, then you have the right to be registered as a conscientious objector—as one whose conscience, whose sense of right and wrong, forbids him to take part in war or in preparation for it.

"If you take that decision you will be joining the fellowship of thousands all over the world who have refused to take part in war, and have been prepared to suffer imprisonment and even death for the sake of what they believed to be right, it will mean your standing out against many of your friends and against the majority who are doing. That demands courage but we owe many of the things we value most to the courage and faith of the few.

"So the decision is a very important one, and you cannot make it easily. If you would like to talk the problem over, you can get help from those who have faced the same doubts and difficulties, and who have had the experience of tribunals and the consequences of taking the CO position.

"Write to us and we will put you in touch with someone who will not try to make you your mind for you, but will be glad to talk the matter over, and then help you if you decide that you should refuse to be conscripted for military service, and that you want to find some better way of serving your fellow men and working for real peace and the brotherhood of all men everywhere."

Copies of the leaflet, which has been written by Stuart Morris for the Campaign Committee, can be obtained from the PPU at 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. Contributions towards the cost of printing will be welcomed.

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Canon Collins chairman of Ch of the Fellows

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